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pressed laughter on the other side of the fire as he recalled to himself the amusing incidents of the day. Even when alone with his thoughts he was still laughing. This suggests that Tip's gaiety was "natural" rather than contrived for effect, and there is support for the suggestion in the fact that Tip was regarded as a poor hunter, because, as one critic put it, "He doesn't concentrate on killing the kangaroo but plays jokes on the kangaroo and makes a game out of hunting." Another indication that when alone he behaved in the same irresponsible manner that he exhibited in public.

The second ground that suggests that fun-loving and gaiety are not incompatible with increasing age and tribal status is the fact that there were many old and venerable Tiwi who loved fun and laughter just as Tipperary did. One such was Tu'untalumi, one of the most elderly of the Tiklauila, a man of weight, dignity and poise. He was a highly respected person, an expert in ceremonial performances and a rigid traditionalist in all things. But despite his age and dignity this man was as given to fun and laughter as Tip was. The main difference was that Tip's laughter was loud, boisterous and prankish; Tu'untalumi's jokes and quips were delivered in low, gentle tones and his laughter was dignified and restrained. But within the limitations imposed by his status he got as much fun and extracted as much humor out of life as Tip, illustrating the point that age and seniority in Tiwi do not at all necessarily mean sourness and lack of humor. Although the two were not related Tipperary played up to the old man and courted and valued his approval while Tu'untalumi clearly liked having Tip around him. They were kindred souls but separated by more than forty years of age.

As is probably the case in most cultures, so among the Tiwi—the genuinely gay person is popular. Tipperary though the next to youngest of Turimpi's sons was the one with most friends. Perhaps significantly, his friends were among both his seniors and juniors, but not among his brothers. Antonio was the only brother who sought Tip's company and this can be accounted for either by the fact that Antonio, when not harassed by his status, was an easy-going, friendly and none too intelligent man who laughed readily even when none too sure of what the joke was, or that he found Tip's company a relaxation from the cares of state. Of the other brothers, the self-righteous and puritanical Mariano considered Tip frivolous and deplored (or was jealous of) the tendency of white men to become fond of him. Louis actively disliked Tip perhaps because his love affairs were an obvious target for some of Tip's better quips. "Perhaps he is going into the bush to take a nap" was one of his comments when he saw Louis disappearing among the trees. With his full brother Bob, Tip had few close ties, perhaps because Bob spent much of his time in Darwin, but even more likely, one suspects, because Bob, an indefinite and colorless youngster, shrank from attracting public notice, whereas Tip was always drawing attention to himself, with the result that Bob to save himself embarrassment avoided his company.

Outside his siblings, Tipperary's gaiety earned him the liking and companionship of the younger men and made him a favorite younger man of some

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to give an imitation of an angry and indignant elder telling off an impertinent "young punk,"[11] but even to the Tiwi, the spectacle of the subservient and retiring Bob trying to overawe and browbeat the formidable and completely self-reliant Louis was such a perversion of the traditional pattern that it bordered on the farcical. As soon as it was over and the conventions were satisfied, Bob, pale and shaken by the unwonted initiative and aggressiveness he had been forced to display, hurried back to the oblivion of Darwin where no such demands were made on a good boy, and, presumably to ensure that he would not be forced to go through such an ordeal again, took the rather unusual step of taking his wife along with him this time.

The above brief sketches convey perhaps some idea of the variation in personalities of the five brothers. Obviously no definite conclusions can be drawn from material of this sort. It is merely suggestive of possibilities for theory. What it seems to suggest is, however, at variance with the idea that personality is substantially uniform in the simpler societies. No attempt has been made in this paper to explore the full gamut of personal differences among the Tiwi. By adding half a dozen other individuals (including such as Tu'untalumi and Dooley, already briefly mentioned) to the five siblings we have discussed above, it would be easy to widen the number of "personality types" illustrated. By confining our attention to the sons of Turimpi we have avoided an arbitrary selection of contrasting individuals; the five men selected were chosen *not because* they were different *but because* they were brothers. How different they are in that vaguely defined thing called personality is largely a matter of opinion depending almost entirely upon what is regarded as a "personality" difference. All that we would here claim for them in the way of difference is that on any continuum for a single trait the five sons of Turimpi range themselves about as differentially as any five average men are likely to do in our culture. In aggressiveness, for example, Mariano is well toward one end of the range, Bob well toward the other; Tipperary, Louis and Antonio at different points in between. In decisiveness or decision-making, Mariano, Louis and Tipperary belong to the heavily positive side, Antonio and Bob on the heavily negative side. But if we couple with decisiveness the ability to win friends and influence people, Tipperary, the decisive and popular, must be sharply separated from Louis and Mariano, decisive but unpopular. The three aggressive dominating types differ markedly among themselves in what might be called interest in life or chief motivating force, Mariano expressing his need for dominance through political channels, Louis through sex, Tipperary through laughter and kidding. On an introvert-extrovert continuum, Louis the silent withdrawn lone-wolf has to be placed well toward the introvert pole, with Mariano not very far away from him, but with Tipperary the out-giving friendly "Rotarian" kidder at the other extreme, and Antonio well down toward Tipperary's end. These are of course just a few of the possible ranges along which the sons of Turimpi have to be located.

Whatever facet of behavior we seize on for comparison, we find these five

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men markedly different from one another. Nor does that obvious fact seem due in any way to the circumstance that the observations upon them were made in a post-white situation. The presence of the Mission, the arguments about polygyny, the lure of movies and white jobs in Port Darwin, the coming of the Japanese pearlers—such factors as these obviously influenced a great deal the *cultural* situation, but it is difficult to see how they can be held to account for Mariano's vehemence or Antonio's indecision or Tip's gaiety or Louis' amorousness. Such things as the Mission, the Japanese, Port Darwin, were vehicles for or occasions for Mariano's vehemence and Antonio's indecision and Tip's gaiety, but they certainly did not cause them. These men would, one presumes, have displayed those same temperamental traits through other and more "native" cultural vehicles if the whites and the Japanese had not been there. To argue otherwise, that is that such differences appear in the post-white situation but are absent under pre-white conditions, would seem to be a most blatant form of ethnocentricism.

It is equally ethnocentric, though in a different way, to argue that our culture, because of its alleged greater complexity, is able in some mysterious way to produce greater variations in personality traits than other and simpler cultures. What complexity of culture does is increase the number of cultural alternatives or socially acceptable behavior patterns; it cannot increase the number of attitudes which an individual will manifest while choosing a cultural alternative or following a socially acceptable pattern. An individual in any culture will follow a "cultural course" but he will follow it cheerfully or sourly, silently or garrulously, in a relaxed manner or a tense manner, like a leader or like a follower, with his eye on the gallery or regardless of the world's opinion. These alternatives would appear to be human alternatives, since they are ways in which all men respond to cultural stimuli. Since they are human variations they will be present where there are many cultural alternatives and where there are none. They will be present in closed social systems as much as in open social systems. When a man in any culture in the world is practising a cultural pattern, he will still differ from his neighbors—or his brothers—in the way he practises it. "It ain't the horrible things you do, but the horrible way you do 'em," are the words of an old joke which draws attention to the vital difference between the things which a culture requires its people to do and the attitudes with which different people proceed to do them. The five sons of Turimpi all followed Tiwi cultural patterns reasonably closely but as this paper has tried to demonstrate they were far indeed from being "stereotyped personalities." They differed not in what they did but in how they did it.

It follows therefore that since simplicity or complexity of culture is irrelevant to the whole matter, we should expect to find, in any culture in the world, a pretty similar range of variation in what must roughly be called "types of people." If the personality and culture literature is leading young anthropologists into the field expecting to find "stereotyped personalities" in the simpler cultures, they are doomed to disappointment. Years ago, Franz Boas (in a passage that is never quoted nowadays) told them what they *will* find. "Some